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## A NEW TYPE OF ARCHAIC ATTIC GRAVE STELE

AMONG the recent accessions of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York, is a marble base or acroterion with an incised lotus design, evidently intended to serve as a support for sculpture, and certainly of Attic origin (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The only known analogy for this form is the well-known stele from Lambrika, the ancient Lamptrae, drawn by Fourmont in 1730, rediscovered in 1886, and now in the National Museum at Athens (Fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> Though the two pieces differ in size and in decoration, and so were not set up as pendants, yet they are obviously of the same style, perhaps even by the same carver, and so are best considered together.

The material employed in both examples is bluish Hymettian marble, as Lepsius remarked in the case of the stele from Lamptrae.<sup>3</sup> This would indicate that both were of local manufacture, dating from a period before the opening of the best quarries of white Pentelic marble (*i.e.* before 500 B.C.), and that they were not regarded as of sufficient importance to justify the use of imported Parian marble.

<sup>1</sup> *B. Metr. Mus.* 1920, p. 108; *Fifty-first Annual Report*, 1920, p. 14. Shown at the Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition, in May, 1920. For permission to publish the marble I am indebted to Dr. Edward Robinson and to Miss G. M. A. Richter. I wish to thank Miss Richter also for the photographs of the stele.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the stele of Lamptrae see: Fourmont Mss., Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Suppl. gr.* 854, ff. 36, 334, and 569, fo. 93; Milchhöfer, *Ath. Mitt.* 1887, p. 102; Winter, *ibid.* pp. 105–118, pl. II; Borrmann, *Jb. Arch. I.* 1888, p. 271; Wolters, *’Αρχ.* ’Εφ. 1888, pp. 189–191; Kavvadias, *Γλυπτὰ τοῦ ἑθνικοῦ Μουσείου*, No. 41; Stais, *Guide illustré du Musée national d’Athènes*, No. 41; Conze, *Att. Grabreliefs*, I, pp. 9–10, pl. XI; Collignon, *Statues funéraires*, pp. 34–37, 63; Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, pp. 125–126; Gardner, *Principles of Greek Art*, pp. 144–145; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l’Art*, VIII, pp. 83, 85, 658; Collignon, *Sculpture grecque*, I, pp. 382–383; Lechat, *Sculpture attique avant Phidias*, p. 295 n. 1; Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, pp. 69–70; Helbig, ‘Les *ἱππεῖς* athéniens,’ *Mem. Acad. Inscr.* XXXVII, 1904, pp. 52–53; Helbig, *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.* 1905, p. 197; Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 66; Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs*, II, 418, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* 1887, p. 106 n. 2.

The leading characteristic of the two stelae is their unusual form. Each consists of a simple abacus, oblong in plan, below which is a spreading curve resembling the throat moulding of the regular Egyptian cornice. In the stele from Lamptrae, but not in that in New York, we find at the bottom an additional member, the mutilated remains of a projecting collar or moulding.



FIGURE 1.—STELE IN NEW YORK: FACE.

In dimensions the stele in New York is slightly smaller than that from Lamptrae. The former is 0.636 m. high, the latter 0.735 m.; the measurements at the bottom are 0.363 x 0.122 m. in the former and 0.42 x 0.17 m. in the latter, while on the abacus they are 0.638 x 0.204 m. and 0.678 x 0.255 m. respectively.<sup>1</sup> The height of the abacus, the entire vertical member above the flaring curve, is 0.119 m. in New York and 0.129 m. in Athens.

Analysis of these dimensions indicates that both stelae were designed with reference to a foot rule, and that this bore no relation to the ordinary Attic foot of about 0.327 m. then already in

<sup>1</sup> These general measurements of the stele from Lamptrae are taken from Conze's publication; for details noted hereafter I have referred to a cast in the Metropolitan Museum.

use; it was, on the contrary, the Ionic foot of about 0.294 m. Thus the total height of the stele from Lamptrae was made exactly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Ionic feet of 0.294 m.; then, using the side of his rule that was divided into twelfths of feet, the artisan set off  $\frac{1}{6}$  foot for the moulding at the bottom, making the portion above the moulding, that is, the throat and abacus,  $2\frac{1}{3}$  feet high; the



FIGURE 2.—STELE IN ATHENS: FACE.

width he made exactly the same,  $2\frac{1}{3}$  feet, giving a square in elevation. For the stele in New York (where the bottom moulding is absent) he made the height  $\frac{1}{6}$  foot less, or  $2\frac{1}{6}$  foot; again the width is exactly the same. At this point the direct application of the foot rule ceased. For now, using the other side of his rule, divided into sixteenths of feet, he cut each side of each square into sixteen parts (Fig. 3); the height of the abacus is three parts and that of the throat thirteen parts in both cases. While the width of the abacus is uniformly sixteen parts, the depth is six parts in Athens and five parts in New York; and the width at the bottom of the throat is ten parts in Athens, nine

parts in New York, while the depth at the same level is in both cases less than that of the abacus by two parts. As compared with the actual dimensions, these theoretical dimensions are as follows:

STELE IN ATHENS			STELE IN NEW YORK	
	Actual	Ionic Feet	Actual	Ionic Feet
Height, total . . . . .	0.735 m.	$2\frac{1}{2}=0.735$ m.	0.636 m.	$2\frac{1}{2}=0.637$ m.
Height, without bottom moulding . . . . .	0.685 m.	$2\frac{1}{2}=0.686$ m.	0.636 m.	$2\frac{1}{2}=0.637$ m.
Width of abacus . . . . .	0.678 m.	$2\frac{1}{2}=0.686$ m.	0.638 m.	$2\frac{1}{2}=0.637$ m.
	Actual	In 16ths of Square	Actual	In 16ths of Square
Height of abacus . . . . .	0.129 m.	$\frac{3}{16}=0.1285$ m.	0.119 m.	$\frac{3}{16}=0.1195$ m.
Depth of abacus . . . . .	0.255 m.	$\frac{6}{16}=0.257$ m.	0.204 m.	$\frac{7}{16}=0.199$ m.
Width of throat . . . . .	0.42 m.	$\frac{13}{16}=0.4285$ m.	0.363 m.	$\frac{14}{16}=0.3585$ m.
Depth of throat . . . . .	0.17 m.	$\frac{4}{16}=0.1715$ m.	0.122 m.	$\frac{3}{16}=0.1195$ m.

The unit, the sixteenth of the side of the square, is 0.0429 m. in the stèle in Athens; the maximum error is a fifth of this unit, which occurs in two instances, while the four other measurements are within 0.002 m. of the estimated scheme, extreme accuracy for careless work of this kind. Similarly in the New York stèle, where the unit is 0.0398 m., the maximum error is an eighth of the unit, occurring in two instances, while the four other measurements are again within 0.002 m. of the planned amount; in a monument wherein the uniform spacing of the rosettes on the abacus shows an error of 0.014 m., this is surely accurate enough to satisfy our expectations.

The implication of such dimensions, namely, that the designer

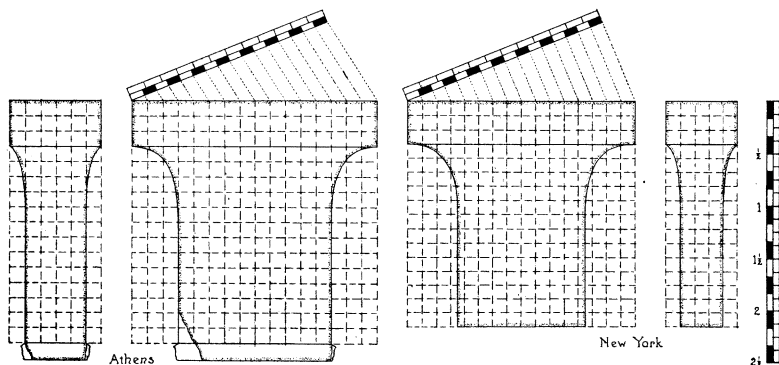


FIGURE 3.—PROPORTIONS OF THE TWO STELAE.

was of Ionic origin, would seem to be confirmed by the forms of the decorative patterns.

The back of the New York stele, like its counterpart in Athens, is without decoration of any kind, and is only roughly tooled; it is moulded, however, exactly like the front (Fig. 4).

In decoration the two blocks are strikingly similar. Each is

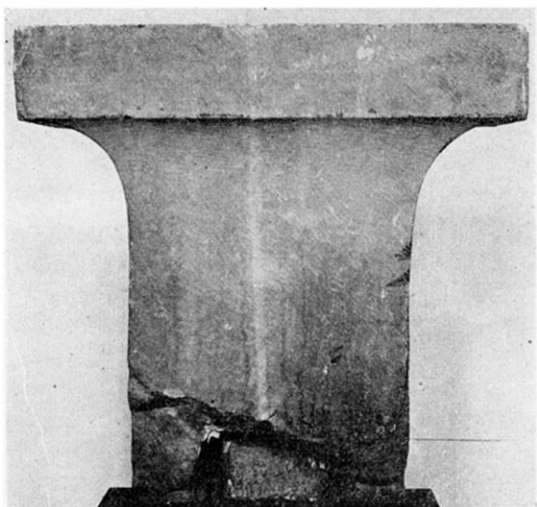


FIGURE 4.—STELE IN NEW YORK: BACK.

carved in "relief," if we may so term it, on one broad face and on both ends. The technique is most peculiar; it consists merely of drawing by means of incised lines, and then of beveling or chamfering the surface on one side of the line, preferably the background, so that the area enclosed within the line stands forth in silhouette, with squarely cut edges. Apart from the bevel, 0.004–0.005 m. wide, the background is flush with the applied decoration.<sup>1</sup> The depth of the beveled surface is generally about 0.002 m.; at one point, behind the manes of the horses on the stele from Lamptrae, it attains 0.004 m. On the abacus, the

<sup>1</sup> The general appearance is very similar to that of unfinished reliefs in Egyptian mastaba tombs of the Old Kingdom. In these, however, the background would ultimately have been cut back to the depth of the beveled edges, whereas in the two Attic stelae the background was obviously intended to remain in its present state.

ornament in both cases consists of a row of rosettes enclosed within a frame. So far the two stones are alike in general appearance. But on the upper portion of the flaring throat moulding in the stele from Lamptrae we have a Doric leaf pattern, with the leaves upright; and below the leaf pattern is a rectangular panel con-

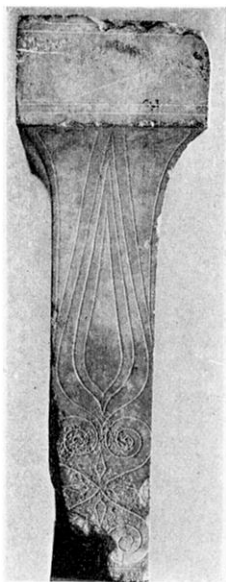


FIGURE 5.—STELE IN  
NEW YORK: LEFT  
SIDE.

taining a horseman, while on the right edge appears an old man leaning on a staff in a mournful attitude, on the left edge two women tearing their hair. The stele in New York, on the other hand, has the portion below the abacus entirely filled by a conventionalized lotus and volute pattern, repeated in more compact form on the ends (Fig. 5).

The abacus in New York is bordered above and below by two bands, the inner one of which shows a slightly convex profile and was painted red;<sup>1</sup> these are carried across the two ends but not round the back. In the Lamptrae example, where we have similar bands, we find an additional refinement in that they are returned vertically at each edge of the abacus, forming rectangular panels. In both cases the wide central area is filled with rosettes. In New York there are four rosettes on the front and none on the ends; the rosettes are inscribed in circles 0.072 m. in diameter, and are eight-petaled, with interior model-

ing. In the Lamptrae capital we have five ornaments on the front and one on each end; two of those on the front, and those on the ends, are eight-petaled rosettes but without interior modeling; the three others on the front are square lotus patterns, alternating with the rosettes. It is in the ornament of the Hekatompedon, and of the surrounding smaller temples on the Acropolis, dating from the first half of the sixth century, that these forms find their closest analogies.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The bands are 0.012 m. wide at the upper edge, but only 0.011 m. wide at the lower edge of the abacus. Across the front the lowest band is reduced in width to 0.008 m. by an incised line (only 0.003 m. above the bottom of the abacus) which does not appear at the ends.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, pl. VI, 4-6; pl. IX, 2a-b, 3.

The great lotus ornament, rising from a pair of upward springing volutes, filling the entire lower part of the New York stele, is perfectly adapted to the field; and the choice of this type of ornament may even have been suggested to the designer by the use of the throat moulding. The three great calyx leaves, ribbed to imitate the natural form, were painted in alternating colors, blue, red, and blue, from centre to edge. In the two triangular areas left between the calyx leaves appears the central mass of petals, conventionalized to form three lobes in each area; in each group of three, the central lobe was blue, the others (probably) white; blue bands bind together the bottoms of the lobes, and the apex of the triangle below each group is likewise blue. Narrow red edges outline and separate all these members, calyx leaves, petal lobes, and connecting bands. The volutes below, probably left in the natural bluish white of the marble, are also outlined in red; the eyes are blue, with red enframing circles; and the connecting band between the volutes is divided into concentric rectangles of blue and white. The seven small areas of background not occupied by this ornament show traces of blue.<sup>1</sup> The abbreviated patterns on the two ends show traces of the same polychrome treatment.<sup>2</sup> The bottom of the field is bounded by two bands like those enframing the abacus, the upper one convex in profile and painted red; this upper band is not returned across the left end.

The lotus pattern of the throat moulding, like the rosettes of the abacus, resembles closely, both in technique and design, the ornament on the soffit of the raking cornice of the Hekatompedon,<sup>3</sup> and that on the sima or gutter-moulding of the same temple,<sup>4</sup> dating from about 566 B.C. Such semi-naturalistic lotus flowers, both those of the Hekatompedon and that in New York, find their closest analogies in vase paintings of the various Ionic fabrics,

<sup>1</sup> The picked or hammered surface which appears in many of the blue areas is apparently due, not to the original sculptor, but to some idle Greek who thus amused himself while the colors were still fresh.

<sup>2</sup> These numerous remains of color yield welcome confirmation to the belief of Kavvadias that he could distinguish traces of red on the background of the left edge relief in the stele from Lamptrae; Conze reported that Brückner was unable to find such color. Even without such traces, however, it would be obvious that reliefs of this technique must have been supplemented by color.

<sup>3</sup> Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur*, pp. 23-25, pls. I-II; Heberdey, *Altattischer Porosskulptur*, pp. 127-128.

<sup>4</sup> Wiegand, *op. cit.* pl. IX.



wherein the lotus can be traced up from Egypt through Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Ionic coast, and thence across the Aegean to the two chief centres of archaic vase painting, Corinth and Athens, where they appear early in the sixth century, at the time of the building of the Hekatompedon. From the use of Ionic rather than Attic units of measure, and pure Ionic ornament, it is reasonable to conjecture that we have in these stelae the work of an Ionic artist who had migrated to Attica, perhaps one of many craftsmen called from abroad at the time of the construction of the Hekatompedon, just as Peisistratus afterwards called in numerous Ionic sculptors from Samos, Chios, Paros, and Naxos. Thus Winter was probably correct in assigning the stele from

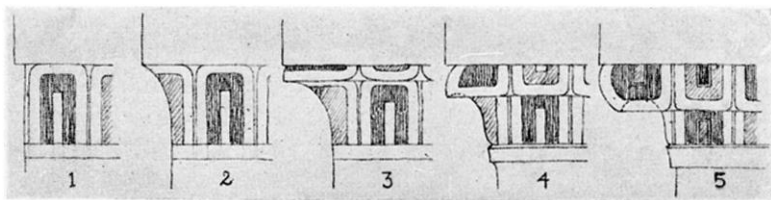


FIGURE 6.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE DORIC CYMA.

Lamptrae to the middle of the sixth century; I should be inclined, on account of the resemblance to the Hekatompedon, to place both about a decade earlier, about 560 B.C.

The New York stele has nothing corresponding to the Doric or upright leaves occupying the upper part of the throat moulding in the Lamptrae example; yet on account of its chronological importance we must refer to this pattern. The Doric leaf ornament was in later times associated with a special profile, the Doric cyma or hawksbeak, just as its counterpart, the Ionic egg-and-dart, was later associated purely with the ovolo moulding. Originally, however, the two types of ornament were very similar, and differed chiefly in the direction of the leaves, either upright (Doric) or pendant (Ionic). Thus the development of the Doric cyma seems to have passed through the following stages (Fig. 6), which can be identified by means of their characteristic ornament: (1) the vertical plane, as in the metopes of the old Hekatompedon; (2) the simple throat moulding, as in many archaic Attic votive bases; (3) the first representation of the top of the leaf, as in the stele from Lamptrae; (4) the double curvature of the lower mem-

ber, as in later archaic votive bases;<sup>1</sup> and (5) the fully developed profile. The stele of Lamptrae, with its rudimentary beak, represents the middle stage, and again, therefore, would indicate the middle of the sixth century as a suitable date.

Having discussed the form and the probable authorship and date of the two stelae, we now come to the question to which my attention was first drawn when the example in New York was placed on public view, namely, the restoration of the monuments to which they belonged.

The chief purpose of the spreading abacus, in both cases, was to form a wider base for the support of some crowning object.

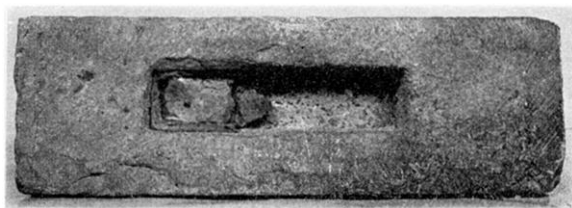


FIGURE 7.—STELE IN NEW YORK: TOP.

In order to fasten this object, now missing, a rectangular cavity was cut in the top of each stone. That on the stele from Lamptrae is about 0.16 m. wide, 0.465 m. long, and 0.035 m. deep, and somewhat irregular in shape—so irregular, in fact, that the object supported could not have been a stele or a palmette acroterion; Winter suggested, with great probability, that it was a sphinx. The cutting on the stele in New York (Fig. 7), on the other hand, is perfectly regular in form, about 0.07 m. wide, 0.30 m. long, and 0.075 m. deep; in it still remains, imbedded in lead, a portion of the missing marble object; in this case it might have been a stele, but I am inclined to believe that it was again a sphinx,<sup>2</sup> as on a colossal stele in the Metropolitan Museum where the cavity is equally regular.

This brings us to the question of the purpose of the stones. That from Lamptrae is obviously a sepulchral stele; the attitudes of the accessory figures on the right and left edges are conclusive

<sup>1</sup> There are several variants of this scheme, as, for instance, in the pedestal of Antenor's Acropolis maiden.

<sup>2</sup> The cutting terminates 0.18 m. from the right end, 0.155 m. from the left end, indicating an unsymmetrical emplacement of the object.

on this point. The marble in New York might have been a votive support; there is nothing in the decoration, at least, to suggest a sepulchral character (unless the lotus ornament and the sphinx can be so interpreted); but I shall assume, for lack of further evidence, that it was a grave stele, like its twin from Lamptrae.

On what sort of a base should such a stele be placed? Winter

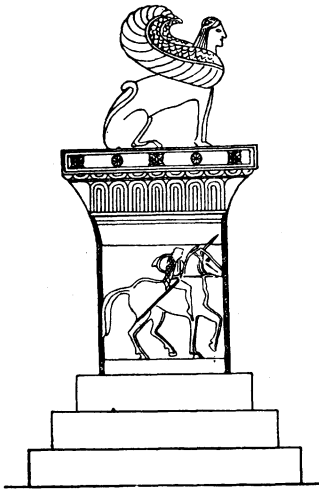


FIGURE 8.—STELE IN ATHENS:  
WINTER'S RESTORATION.

restored the stele from Lamptrae as resting on a crepidoma of three steps, each about 0.12 m. high, making the total height 1.00 m. (Fig. 8). This restoration has been widely accepted,<sup>1</sup> and if it could be verified the marble in the Metropolitan Museum should undoubtedly be restored in the same manner. But against this restoration there are serious objections.

In the first place, the steps restored by Winter are, in themselves, too trivial in scale, and they leave the top of the stele too far below the level of the eye. The top is, in both examples, very roughly tooled, and was hardly intended to be exposed to view; we must, therefore, raise it above the level of the eye, to a

greater height, that is to say, than 1.60 m. If steps seemed desirable, a more satisfactory solution would be to use high risers and narrow treads like the steps supporting the sepulchral statue by Phaidimos, from Vourva in Attica.<sup>2</sup>

The next question is, therefore, are steps of any form suitable for such a monument? To answer this, we must consider the method of fastening or holding the blocks in place. In small votive and grave monuments of this scale the mode of fastening was always the tenon and mortise, employed, however, in different ways. Thus when an upright member was set upon a base of

<sup>1</sup> Winter, *Ath. Mitt.* 1887, p. 105 fig. 1; Percy Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 125, fig. 46; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, VIII, p. 85, fig. 51; Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs*, II, 418, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1890, pl. I', 4; Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.* p. 82, fig. 50; Collignon, *Statues funéraires*, p. 35, fig. 14.

sufficient width, as a stele or column upon a plinth, or a statue upon a pedestal cap, then the base could safely be hollowed out to receive the entire foot of the upright member, which in itself became the tenon (Fig. 9, 1). When the wider member was not of sufficient projection to take the entire thickness of the upright, as in the case of a moulded base (2a)<sup>1</sup> or capital (2b), then it was

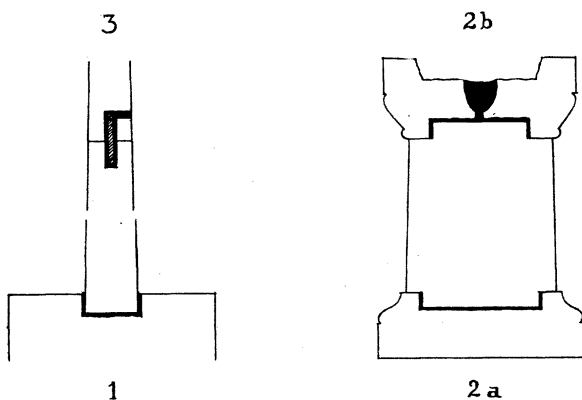


FIGURE 9.—MORTISE AND TENON IN ARCHAIC PEDESTALS.

necessary to reduce the size of the inserted portion, forming a true tenon. And when the members were both so small that a marble tenon could not be cut on either of them, a thin metal tenon was used, that is to say, a dowel fitting into cavities cut in both the upper and the lower piece (Fig. 9, 3).

The tenon, be it the entire foot, a true tenon, or merely a dowel, always fitted loosely into the mortise, leaving space for a bed of molten lead which was poured in to serve at once as bonding material and as cushion. When the entire foot of a column, stele, or statue was to be set in a socket, a thin bed of lead was apparently poured in first, the upright member set upon this, and then the surrounding crack of 0.005 m. filled up with lead flush with the top of the base;<sup>2</sup> in such cases a portion of the lead always remained visible (Fig. 9, 1). But when the chamber to be

<sup>1</sup> Moulded bases are rare in work of this kind; the example shown is from a Caryatid pedestal of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.

<sup>2</sup> In statue plinths a hole was sometimes bored vertically between the feet, and lead was poured through this as well as into the crack round the edge of the plinth.

filled with lead was not exposed, as in the case of a true tenon, the process became more complicated. If the tenon was cut on the bottom of the upper member (as was rarely the case), then a simple pour channel cut on the top of the lower member sufficed (2a). But when the tenon was cut on the top of the lower member, the pour channel had to be placed at a higher level in order to enable it to reach the top of the mortise; and in many cases it was found most economical to bore a vertical pour channel down from the top of the stone, especially if, as in capitals of votive pedestals, the capital were already partly hollowed to receive the foot of a statue or other object (2b). In such cases the mouth of the vertical pour channel was widened, in the shape of a cup or funnel, to facilitate the pouring. Finally, members such as were connected by metal dowels being usually too thin and high to permit boring from the top, we have another method of pouring the lead, through a round hole bored horizontally from the back of the stone at the level of the top of the dowel (Fig. 9, 3). These three types of connection will undoubtedly cover the majority of cases, though a few exceptional examples might, perhaps, be found if we were to inventory large collections such as exist in the Acropolis Museum and Epigraphical Museum at Athens.<sup>1</sup>

If the Lamptrae type of stele were set upon a broad plinth or step, as Winter supposed, the junction must have been of type 1. It was a hard and fast rule that the bottom of a stele should be set down into the plinth for a depth of 0.05–0.10 m.; there are no exceptions.<sup>2</sup> Now the Lamptrae stele has, to be sure, a broken projecting surface 0.05 m. high along the lower portion of the face, which might possibly be interpreted as the remains of a roughened band which was set down into a plinth, though such a projecting band would be without parallel in other examples. But the New York stele is decorated to within 0.016 m. of the

<sup>1</sup> The lost stele of Theron (Conze, *op. cit.* pl. XIV, 1) had a separate crowning palmette, so thin that we should have expected to find a metal dowel; instead of this a marble tenon seems to have been used, though the drawings of Stackelberg, Kinnaird, and Vulliamy show discrepancies. In the capital shown by Borrmann (*Jb. Arch. I.*, 1888, p. 275 fig. 15) we have a separate dowel, perhaps of marble, of type 3, but the pour channel is at the level of the joint and so at only half of the height of the dowel; the dowel must, therefore, have been leaded into the capital while the latter was upside down, before being set in place. In effect, therefore, these two exceptions are of type 2a.

<sup>2</sup> This was noted also by Conze, *op. cit.* p. 12.

bottom, and even the lowest band is required to complete the pattern; this stele, therefore, could not have been set down into a socket, but must have rested on the very top of the stone next below. This observation is confirmed by another fact. In the bottom of the New York stele is a great dowel hole, 0.22 m. long, 0.04 m. wide, and 0.115 m. high, into which the lead was poured through a round hole 0.021 m. in diameter bored horizontally from the back of the stone, at the level of the top of the dowel (Fig. 4). According to Conze's description,<sup>1</sup> a dowel hole exists also in the bottom of the Lamptrae base, though we have no particulars as to the pour channel. Such a dowel eliminates the possibility of restoring a socket of type 1; and such a dowel, furthermore, was never employed when it was a question of fastening a stele to a plinth or step. In other words, the Lamptrae stele and its New York counterpart are examples of the third type of fastening, and the faces of each must have been practically flush with the faces of the stone on which it was set.

What was the form of the missing lower stone in each case? The dimensions of the bottoms of the existing blocks are, as we noted, 0.42 x 0.17 m. in the stele from Lamptrae, 0.363 x 0.122 m. in the stele in New York. Both are characteristic dimensions of archaic Attic stelae, among which the extreme examples are about 0.62 x 0.15 m.<sup>2</sup> and 0.265 x 0.08 m.<sup>3</sup> With such dimensions, it is difficult to restore the lower stone in each case otherwise than as a tall tapering stele, to which the existing blocks become merely the capitals. This form would also explain the tapering of the capital below the outward flare; in the Lamptrae example the width of the face is reduced from 0.42 m. to 0.40 m. (at the top of the panel) before it flares out to 0.678 m.; in the New York capital the reduction is less marked, from 0.363 m. to 0.359 m. (Fig. 10).<sup>4</sup>

This restoration seems to be confirmed also by the form of the decoration. On the Lamptrae capital the accessory figures at left and right are obviously the mourners at the funeral; and what was easier than to interpret the youthful rider as the deceased himself? Such was the interpretation that long passed muster.

<sup>1</sup> Conze, *op. cit.* p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* 1907, p. 555, fig. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Stele of Antiphanes; Conze, *op. cit.* pl. XIII.

<sup>4</sup> The restoration of the plinth and shaft here shown was carried out under the direction of Miss Richter. A similar restoration of the stele in the Museum at Athens would be desirable.

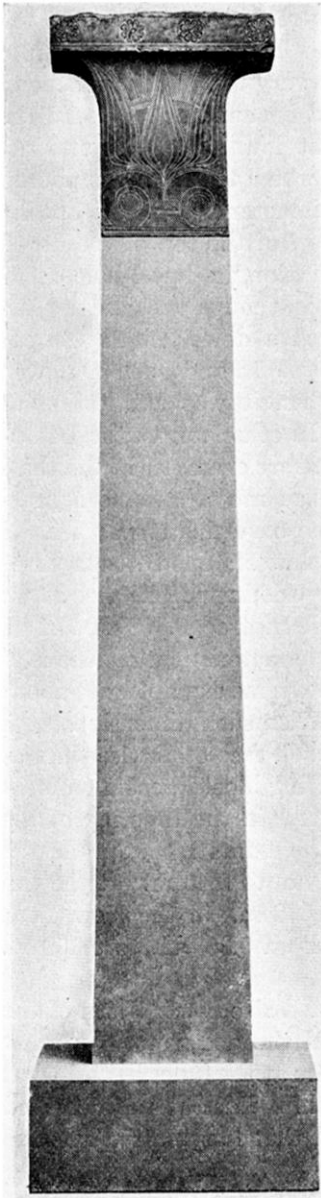


FIGURE 10.—STELE IN NEW YORK: RESTORATION.

But when we observe that the rider bears two shields, one the round shield of the hoplite and the other the crescent-shaped shield of the light-armed peltast, and that, furthermore, behind his mount is a second, and riderless, horse, the question becomes more complicated. Obviously somebody is absent. Helbig, therefore, surmised that the rider does not represent the deceased, but rather his squire or attendant, as frequently shown in the lower portions of Attic stelae;<sup>1</sup> this was accepted by Collignon, and seems to be the only logical explanation. Far less satisfactory is the conclusion of Helbig and Collignon, that the missing image of the deceased must be placed above the horseman, in the form of a statue. The form of the cutting on the stele from Lamptrae is too narrow for such a purpose, and its irregularity can be explained only on Winter's supposition that it contained an animal. But with a high shaft below the capital, we are at perfect liberty to assume that the image of the deceased was carved in relief on its face, in a pose like that on the ordinary stele. The same is true of the stele capital in New York. Here the decoration of the face is different, a conventional floral pattern; but it is to

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, 'Les *ἱππεῖς* athéniens,' *Mem. Acad. Inscr.* XXXVII, 1904, pp. 52-53; cf. *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.* 1905, p. 197; Collignon, *Statues funéraires*, p. 63.

be noted that its form is that of a floral acroterion, resembling the palmette type with volutes such as frequently crowned archaic grave stelae. The application of this acroterion decoration to the face of the capital implies that below it was a shaft of the usual stele form.

The Lamptrae type of capital is unprecedented among Attic grave stelae, though we find many analogies in another group of small monuments, the pedestals of votive offerings. It is, in fact, next to the mere abacus, the simplest form of capital that could be devised to provide a shelf on which to set an offering. Among the examples found on the Acropolis, the flaring throat moulding and the simple abacus occur on the stele of Onatas (in which the capital is cut in the same stone with the shaft) and in three separate capitals; in the last of these we find the same upright Doric leaf pattern that appears on the stele capital from Lamptrae.<sup>1</sup> In these separate votive capitals the fastening to the shaft is of type 2b, because the shafts are of heavier proportions than the thin slabs from which were fashioned the grave stelae.

In thus adding a new type to the few known forms of archaic Attic grave stelae, it is necessary to consider its general relation to the series. Apparently there are five types (Fig. 11), two (A and B) being widely represented while the three others are known either in single examples (C and E) or in the work of a single man (D).<sup>2</sup>

(A) The type without acroterion, the simplest, was first made known by Noack during his investigation of the Themistoclean walls of Athens; there he found one example of which the top is perfectly horizontal, and roughly tooled, with no preparation for a crowning member.<sup>3</sup> A second example is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>4</sup> Noack indeed conjectured that many of the well-known incomplete stelae, as those of Aristion and Lyseas, were of this type, but the conjecture cannot be verified.

(B) The type with palmette acroterion, long supposed to be the conventional type of archaic Attic grave stele.<sup>5</sup> The authen-

<sup>1</sup> Borrmann, *Jb. Arch.* I. 1888, p. 271, figs. 2 and 3; p. 272, figs. 5 and 6.

<sup>2</sup> In Fig. 11, types A to C are generic forms rather than reproductions of specific examples; type E is sketched from the *Handbook* of the Metropolitan Museum (cited below); while in type D the proportions are represented as slightly lower than in the actual restoration (Fig. 10), for the sake of agreement with type E.

<sup>3</sup> Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* 1907, p. 541; cf. *A.J.A.* 1911, p. 297, fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Caskey, *A.J.A.* 1911, p. 294, fig. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Brueckner, *Ornament und Form der attischen Grabstelen*, p. 60; Furtwängler, *Samml. Sabouroff*, I, text to pl. II.



tic examples of this type, however, are not very numerous; we have the stele of Antiphanes in Athens<sup>1</sup> and that of Antigenes in the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>2</sup> both painted but without relief sculpture. The upper part of a stele in Athens, of this type,<sup>3</sup>

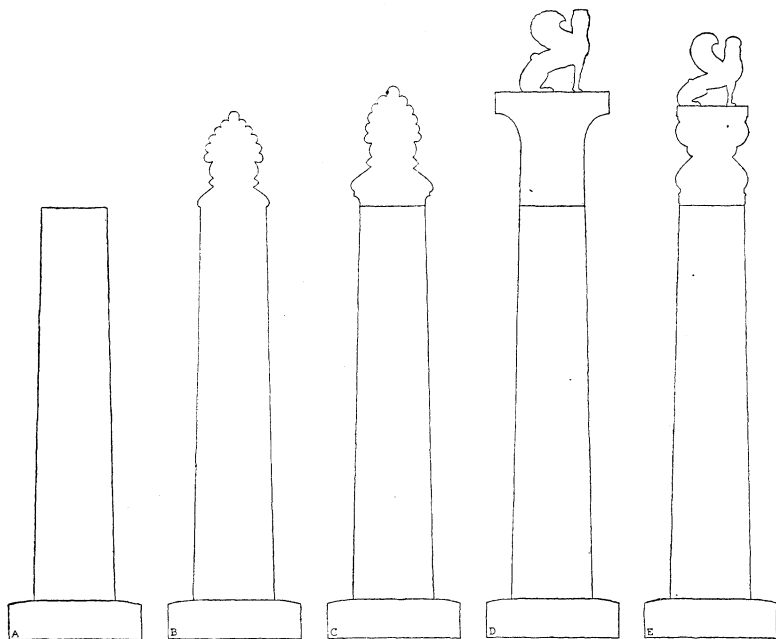


FIGURE 11.—FIVE TYPES OF ARCHAIC ATTIC GRAVE STELAE.

has incised ornament, the technique being similar to that of the Lamptrae capital. In these three examples the acroterion is cut in the same slab with the shaft. In the lost stele of Theron the acroterion was separate, fastened to the shaft by a tenon.<sup>4</sup>

(C) A type represented by a single fragment in the National Museum at Athens;<sup>5</sup> a special capital with a flaring throat moulding is inserted between the shaft and the palmette acroterion. The throat moulding is decorated with an upright Doric leaf pattern. The acroterion was fastened to the shaft by a metal dowel, leaded through a hole from the back.

<sup>1</sup> Conze, *op. cit.* pl. XIII.

<sup>2</sup> *B. Metr. Mus.* 1916, p. 125, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Conze, *op. cit.* pl. XIV, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Conze, *op. cit.* pl. XIV, 1; the drawing by Kinnaird seems more reasonable (*Antiquities of Athens, Suppl.*, p. 13).

<sup>5</sup> Conze, *op. cit.* pl. XIV, 6.

(D) The type with an animal acroterion, a lion or preferably a sphinx. Several of the Attic sphinxes, as that from Spata (0.45 m. high), seem to be of the proper dimensions for such a purpose. In this type, a larger plinth being desired at the top of the shaft to give sufficient area for the support of the animal, a separate capital was always provided in order to avoid waste of material in the shaft. The simplest form of capital is that in New York, merely the flaring throat moulding and abacus; on account of the long association of the floral acroterion with the stele (type B), an acroterion pattern was incised on the face of the capital, so that in spirit we have two superposed acroteria, one painted on the capital and one carved in the round above the capital. Next in order comes the capital from Lamptrae, in which advantage was taken of the separate block to add a special necking moulding, now broken off,<sup>1</sup> below the curve (Fig. 3). In both examples the animal was let into a socket in the top of the capital, the fastening being of type 1; and the fastening of the capitals to the shafts was of type 3, each having a great metal dowel leaded through a round hole from the back of the capital. Such a dowel hole appears on the top of the shaft of one of the stelae found by Noack;<sup>2</sup> it is uncertain, however, whether this should be assigned to group D, or to group B with a separately cut acroterion.

(E) A composite type represented only by a colossal stele in the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>3</sup> with two actual acroteria superposed. At the bottom of the capital block is a projecting necking moulding, such as must have occurred in the stele from Lamptrae; above this we have, instead of the flaring capital, a true floral acroterion, though with lines designed for the better support of the flat abacus which is set abruptly upon its top; on the abacus sat the animal acroterion. The capital block is fastened to the shaft in the same manner as in the two examples of group D.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is my interpretation of the rough projecting surface 0.05 m. high at the bottom of the capital.

<sup>2</sup> Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* 1907, p. 555, fig. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Metropolitan Museum: Handbook of the Classical Collection*, p. 203, fig. 121.

<sup>4</sup> On the great composite stele the bored hole is 0.039 m. in diameter, and is centred about 0.14 m. above the joint to the shaft.